

recent Federal elections, including 2016 races. About half of the total outside spending since Citizens United went toward the 2012 Presidential election. More than 93 percent of all Super PAC donations in 2012 came in contributions of at least \$10,000 from only 3,318 donors, who make up 0.0011 percent of the U.S. population. Of that group, an elite class of 159 people each contributed at least \$1 million—which was nearly 60 percent of all Super PAC donations that year.

In the lead-up to the 2016 Presidential primaries, we are once again witnessing an immense amount of spending. A New York Times investigation in October found that of approximately 120 million households in the United States, a mere 158 families, along with businesses they own or control, had already contributed \$176 million—nearly half of all funds raised to support the 2016 Presidential campaigns before a single primary vote has been cast.

Congressional races have been similarly flooded with outside spending. For example, in the 2014 midterm elections, outside groups spent more than \$560 million to influence congressional races—eight times the approximately \$70 million spent in 2006, the last midterm election cycle before Citizens United. And more than 30 percent of that spending came from tax-exempt, “dark money” groups that conceal their donors from the public.

The impact of this incredible spending stretches from races for the White House and Congress to Governors’ mansions, State capitols, and city halls throughout the country. As in Federal campaigns, Citizens United has led to an explosion of outside spending at the State and local levels, with corporations and wealthy single spenders looking to play kingmaker, pouring cash into races for positions ranging from district attorney to school board members. One of the most startling examples occurred in 2014 in Richmond, CA, a city with a population of 107,000. Chevron—an energy company with more than \$200 billion in annual revenue—spent approximately \$3 million through campaign committees aimed at influencing the mayoral and city council races. That means Chevron spent at least \$33 per voting-age resident in Richmond.

The long-term damage to our political process from Citizens United is just beginning to reveal itself. Some scandals have already surfaced, and there will undoubtedly be more stories of corruption and corrosive influence ahead, further eroding public confidence in our government. I have worked with my colleagues on a number of solutions to stem this tidal wave of secret unlimited spending, including improving disclosure and creating a more transparent campaign finance system. I will continue my efforts to establish a public financing system for congressional elections through the Fair Elections Now Act, which I re-introduced last year.

We also must continue to push for a constitutional amendment that would protect and restore the First Amendment by overturning Citizens United and empowering Congress and State legislatures to set reasonable, content neutral limitations on campaign spending. In 2014, Justice John Paul Stevens discussed his support for an amendment to overturn Citizens United in testimony before the Senate Rules Committee. Here is what he said: “Unlimited campaign expenditures impair the process of democratic self-government. They create a risk that successful candidates will pay more attention to the interests of non-voters who provided them with money than to the interests of the voters who elected them. That risk is unacceptable.”

As we approach the sixth anniversary of the Citizens United decision, we should heed Justice Stevens’ words. It is unacceptable for politicians to feel more beholden to wealthy donors than their constituents. We must work to fix America’s campaign finance system and overturn Citizens United so that elected officials listen to the everyday Americans who voted them into office—not just those who bankrolled their success.

(At the request of Mr. REID, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

VOTE EXPLANATION

• Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I regret missing the vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the veto message on S.J. Res. 22, a bill that would block implementation of the Waters of the United States rule and prevent the Environmental Protection Agency and Army Corps of Engineers from reissuing a regulation that is substantially similar in the future. I voted against S.J. Res. 22 last fall and, had I been present, I would have voted to uphold the President’s veto. While this rule is not perfect, it provides important environmental protection efforts.●

TRIBUTE TO MARGOT ALLEN

Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, today I wish to congratulate my longtime staffer Margot Allen on her retirement. Margot has been an essential part of my team since I became a U.S. Senator in 2011, and I am thankful for all of her hard work on behalf of the people of Nevada.

For the past 5 years, Margot has gone above and beyond not only working hard to help achieve my goals for Nevada’s military community, but also to bring southern Nevada’s active military members, veterans, and their families an unwavering ally in fighting bureaucratic red tape and various issues that often occur when working with the Department of Veterans Affairs.

From helping Nevadans receive the benefits they deserve, to personally meeting many serving at both Nellis Air Force Base and Creech Air Force

Base, to welcoming a variety of veterans living throughout the southern Nevada community, Margot has been there to support those that have given so much for our freedoms. I extend my deepest gratitude to Margot for working with Nevada’s military community and representing my office with such a genuine concern for Nevada’s brave men and women. Not only has she gained my respect, but the respect of the military community across southern Nevada through her tireless resolve to bring these men and women the support they deserve.

Margot also served as my statewide coordinator for Nevada’s U.S. service academies. It was through her efforts in working with Nevada’s youth who were interested in attending these important institutions that many achieved this goal and were accepted into the academies.

Along with helping Nevada’s veterans and active military members, Margot also served as a point of contact to seniors across southern Nevada struggling with Social Security, Medicare, and other programs available to help our aging population. Throughout the last 5 years, Margot worked diligently to help seniors in need receive the help necessary to remain healthy and happy. This community is fortunate that Margot led the way to help southern Nevada’s seniors.

Margot also contributed greatly to my team by utilizing a completely different skill set—a love of grammar and writing. Prior to working on behalf of the people of Nevada in my office, she served as a professor at the University of Alabama, as well as taught English-language skills in Panama while her husband, Leonard, worked abroad for the Department of Defense. To say I was privileged to have her in my office would be an understatement.

Above all else, I want to thank Margot for all of her hard work and devotion to the people of our great State. She wore many hats, working with veterans, seniors, and a variety of other Nevadans struggling to work with Federal agencies—we are very fortunate to have had someone willing to put forth such effort and compassion to help those in need. Her legacy of resilience and determination will never be forgotten.

Today I ask my colleagues and all Nevadans to join me in congratulating Margot on her retirement and in thanking her for all she has done for the people of our State.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO MORGAN WALLACE

• Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I would like to take the opportunity to express my appreciation to Morgan Wallace for her hard work as an intern in my Washington, DC, office. I recognize her efforts and contributions to my office as well as to the State of Wyoming.